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## V.

# THE FOUNDER OF THE KHEDIVATE.\*

BY THE LATE JOHN L. STEPHENS.

THE same year gave birth to two of the most extraordinary men who have ever lived. Both Napoleon Bonaparte and Mohammad Ali were born in 1769. The race of one is already finished, and a small island in the midst of the Atlantic contains all that is left of him for whose ambition Europe was too small. The other, now nearly threescore and ten, sits securely on a throne of his own making, a study and a problem. Like all who, for more than two thousand years, have preceded him on the throne of Egypt, Mohammad Ali is a stranger to the land over which he rules. He comes from the wild province of Albania, of a race distinguished from its earliest history for its bold, restless, and indomitable spirits. Fifty years ago we find him as an orphan boy in the town of Cavalla, attracting the attention of the Governor, and acquiring under him the qualification requisite for distinction in his barbarous country—vigilance, intrepidity, and skill in the use of arms. Next he appears as a petty collector of taxes, where he signalized himself by his uncompromising execution of the duties of his office, and his wanton disregard of the misery and blood that it cost. Upon one occasion, when the inhabitants of a particular village refused to pay their quota of tax, Mohammad Ali undertook to compel them, and, hastily arming a few followers, he rode into the village, entered the mosque at the hour of prayer, and, pretending a secret mission, sent for four of the principal inhabitants to come to him. As soon as they appeared he ordered them to be bound hand and foot, overawed the populace by threatening to put his captives to death, and carried them in triumph to Cavalla.

In the East, even yet, a single act of daring may open the road

\* This paper, by one of the most distinguished of American travelers, was written some forty years since, on the return of the author from the East. It is now given to the public by the kind permission of his relatives.—EDITOR.

to fortune, though unhappily it makes but little difference, so that it suits the particular emergency, whether that act be good or bad ; and this dashing stratagem, to call it by no harsher name, procured for Mohammad Ali the rank of búluk báshee, or captain of a company, and a rich wife. Relieved in a measure from the active duties of a soldier, he turned tobacco-merchant, and continued dealing in a small way in tobacco and blood, until the invasion of Egypt by the French called him to a wider field. The contingent of three hundred troops required from the town of Cavalla was placed under the command of Ali Ághá, the son of the Governor, and Mohammad was sent with him as a sort of mentor and second in command. Ali Ághá soon became disgusted with military life and returned home, leaving Mohammad in command ; and, during the whole of Napoleon's invasion, Mohammad Ali, with a spirit as daring as his own, was fighting in the Moslem ranks, and his personal bravery on the field of battle, in many desperate engagements with the French, attracted the attention of the Pasha of Egypt, by whom he was recommended to Khusruf, the Governor of Cairo.

On the expulsion of the French, the Mamelukes, "that indestructible plague of Egypt, that weed always alive," were in arms in the upper provinces, waiting for a favorable opportunity to descend upon Cairo. Youssef Bey was sent against them with a large army, with Táhir Pasha and the young Albanian in command of divisions under him. The expedition terminated unfortunately and disgracefully for the Turks, and Táhir Pasha ascribed their defeat and the disgrace attached to it to the cowardice or treachery of Mohammad Ali. His enemies will probably acquit him of cowardice, and probably, too, all who could have convicted him of treachery are long since out of the way ; but, whether the charge was true or not, Khusruf was willing to believe it, for he already looked upon the young Albanian as a dangerous man. In an evil hour for himself, he sent an order to Mohammad to leave the country with his wild Albanians ; but Mohammad refused to stir until the arrears of his soldiers were paid. Khusruf sent again, with the fatal order to appear before him in the night ; and Mohammad returned for answer that he would appear in broad daylight in the midst of his soldiers. Khusruf, alarmed, called into Cairo the Albanians under Táhir Pasha, hoping to find his safety in the intrigues of the rival chiefs ; but the Albanians, however much they might quarrel among themselves, were unanimous in demanding their pay. They attacked the palace, drove the Governor and his

household out of the city, and installed Tâhir Pasha Governor of Cairo. His rule, however, lasted but three weeks. The Porte sent a Pasha of high rank to assume the command ; but the beys, having now the upper hand, seized him and put him to death, and the actual government of the country reverted to the Mamelukes under Ibrahim and El-Bardeesee—subject, however, to the pretensions of Mohammad Ali.

Mohammad Ali did not belong to the Mamelukes, and to be not of them was to be against them, as he was sure in a struggle for power to have them against him. Fearing their ascendancy, he contrived to embroil El-Bardeesee, the Hotspur of the beys, with his associates ; and, seizing the proper moment, attacked El-Bardeesee with his own hands, and drove him from the Citadel. But the Grand Seigneur now looked upon Mohammad Ali with suspicion, and in the year 1804 sent orders that the Albanians should return into their own country ; but Ali disregarded the mandate, alleging that their presence was still necessary to repress the turbulent spirit of the Mamelukes. In 1805 the Porte tried to get him out of Egypt by conferring on him the honorable appointment of Pasha of Jiddeh and Mecca, on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. He went so far as to put on the mantle and cap peculiar to his new office ; but his army, being prepared beforehand, opposed his going, became clamorous for pay, and threatened violent and open rebellion in case of refusal. The sheiks gathered round in a body, elected him Governor of Cairo, and begged him to save Egypt from the horrors of a civil war. Tumult and confusion ensued, in the midst of which Mohammad Ali alone was calm. He listened with apparent reluctance, and as he said, to save Egypt from greater evils, accepted the power offered him ; and, amid the shouts of his soldiers, was proclaimed the new representative of the Grand Seigneur.

The Mamelukes were unwilling to lay down their arms without one more blow at their old enemy, and Mohammad Ali, longing for another encounter with them, tried to induce them to attack him in Cairo. With one of his characteristic plans of treachery, he induced the sheiks to invite the beys into Cairo and promise them assistance. These daring soldiers, relying upon the promise of the sheiks, seized an opportunity of bursting in a gate which had been opened to admit some loaded camels, and, dividing into two parties, dashed fearlessly through the streets, sounding their martial instruments ; but they were attacked on all sides, fired upon and beaten down without mercy. And such a perfect slaughter was made that

from that time the Mamelukes ceased to be formidable as a body. Prisoners shared the same fate, and more than a hundred heads were sent to Constantinople to grace the walls of the Seraglio. The Porte, in pursuance of its usual policy, of preventing the ascendancy of any one interest, now determined to support the beys, and for this purpose sent an envoy to Mohammad Ali, commanding him to render himself at Alexandria, and to assume the government of Salonica.

But the wily Albanian knew too well the policy of the Divan to accept such promotion. He asked his followers "whether he would not now, when he had around him a strong band of faithful countrymen and men at arms, be a fool and a craven to abandon to his enemies the station he had won with his sword. Cairo," he exclaimed, "is to be publicly sold : whoever will give most blows of the saber shall win it and remain master." While opposing the order of the Sultan he was most respectful in his demeanor toward his representative, always regretting that the distracted state of the country prevented him from obeying his master's orders ; while at the same time he was plotting with the Turks, Albanians, Egyptians, and Mamelukes, and sending money to Constantinople to buy friends in the Divan. At length the Sultan, finding it impossible to dispossess him, and on the eve of a war with Russia, sent him the regular firman, investing him with the title of Viceroy of Egypt. The remnant of the Mamelukes was still in arms in Upper Egypt, but he marched against them, defeated them, and was preparing to follow up his blow to their utter annihilation, when he was recalled by intelligence of the contemplated invasion of Egypt by the British. The result of that unfortunate expedition is well known : Alexandria was taken, but the flower of the little army was cut off, and four hundred and fifty of their heads were publicly exposed at Cairo.

The departure of the British enabled him to give his attention to the internal affairs of his Government ; and one of the first measures he seems to have determined upon was the complete and absolute extermination of the Mamelukes. One word with regard to the Mamelukes. It will be remembered that the great Saladin, like the present Pasha, was a usurper of the throne of Egypt. Having no confidence in the native troops, he organized a guard of strangers, composed of slaves bought or captured on the southern shores of the Caspian, and called, from their condition of slavery, Mamelukes or bondsmen. Every year their strength was increased by young men introduced as pages and trained to the use of arms ;

and the slave from Georgia and Circassia no sooner set his foot in Egypt than his ideas underwent an entire revolution. Everything tended to rouse his ambition and audacity : an unbounded career opened before him ; in a few years the Mamelukes were the lords of Egypt ; and in less than a century the defenders of the throne, like the Prætorian Guards and the Janizaries, became its masters. Splendidly dressed, armed with a carbine, pistols, and Damascus sabers, mounted on noble Arabians, of unbounded confidence and daring and reckless intrepidity, they formed that race of barbaric chivalry of which Napoleon said that, with such cavalry and French infantry, he could conquer the world.

“Accursed be the Mamelukes, and good fortune to the land of Egypt !” was his first proclamation when he landed on her soil ; and this long career of cruelty and oppression, of gross sensuality, treachery, and blood, might almost warrant the cry—“Cut them down ! why cumber they the ground ?”

But the cold-blooded manner in which they were massacred brands the Pasha as a traitor and murderer. His son Toosoon being selected to conduct the war in Arabia, he appointed a day for investing him with the supreme command. The ceremony was to take place in the Citadel ; and the Mamelukes, who were supposed to have made their peace by their brave coöperation in repelling the British, were invited to attend. They came dressed in their most splendid costumes, and, with the brave Shâheen Bey at their head, offered the Pasha their congratulations ; were presented with coffee and smoked the pipe of peace, and Mohammad Ali conversed with them individually, with every appearance of cordiality and kindness. The interview over, they took their leave, mounted their horses, and were escorted from the palace by a troop of soldiers. In leaving the Citadel it was necessary to go through a narrow passage ; and they had no sooner entered this passage than the gates were closed, and a deadly and destructive fire was poured upon them. Penned up, without any chance of escape, and even without the power to strike a blow in their defense, these daring soldiers, who had braved death in a hundred battles, were shot down and killed like dogs. One only escaped. He arrived at the Citadel too late to take his place in the procession, and waited until they had entered the fatal passage, but, seeing the gate shut suddenly and hearing the report of firearms, he suspected the treachery, spurred his horse up the rampart, and, choosing rather to be dashed to pieces than to be butchered in cold blood, drove him over the precipice. The horse was killed,

but the rider escaped unhurt. Four hundred and seventy mounted Mamelukes, with their numerous retinue of attendants, were slain. The Citadel presented the appearance of a slaughter-house. Mutilated corpses choked up the passages, and on all sides were broken weapons, garments covered with blood, and horses richly caparisoned, stretched by the side of their masters, pierced with balls. Some of them took refuge in the Pasha's harem and the house of Toosoon, but they were all dragged forth and beheaded on the spot. The lifeless body of the brave Sháhéen Bey was exposed to every infamy ; a rope was passed round his neck, and the bloody carcass dragged through the most populous parts of the city.

The streets, during two whole days, bore the appearance of a place taken by assault. Every species of outrage was committed with impunity, under pretense of searching for the devoted Mamelukes ; and it was not until five hundred houses were sacked, much valuable property destroyed, and many lives lost, that Ali and his son descended from the Citadel to repress the fury of the soldiers.

The same treacherous measures were pursued in the provinces : every Mameluke in Egypt was hunted to death, and the heads of the principal officers embalmed and sent to Constantinople as a present to the Sultan.

To the disgrace of civilized man, it is said that this scheme for the murder of the Mamelukes was suggested by Dr. Manecei, an Italian, physician to the Pasha ; and it is also said that the Mamelukes themselves, when in the act of retiring, consulted whether they should not take advantage of the opportunity to murder the Pasha, but were intimidated by his strong body of soldiers. I have given this account upon the authority of Europeans ; but I ought to add that, a few months since, in this city, in conversation with a Turkish officer high in the Pasha's service, who was in Cairo at the time of the massacre, on the suggestion being made that the Mamelukes were so reduced that their extermination was cold-blooded cruelty in the Pasha, he denied, with great indignation, that such was the fact, and vehemently protested that the Mamelukes were then so strong that their destruction was absolutely necessary for the Pasha's own security ; and in evidence of it, and in full justification of his Highness, added that more than four thousand were killed in Cairo, and fifteen thousand in the upper provinces.

But to continue. The Pasha turned his whole attention to the war in Arabia. This war against the Wahhábees was regarded as holy by the Turks and Egyptians, and all Mohammedans of the same

sect with themselves. More than a century ago, Abdel Waháb, the Socinius of the Mohammedans, disturbed the minds of the faithful by new and strange doctrines in regard to the character of the Prophet ; attacked the idolatry of the pilgrimage to Mecca and the tomb of Mohammad, and inculcated the principles of pure Deism, reducing the whole duty of man, as a religious being, to prayer and good works. Though aiming at the destruction of the reverence paid to the Prophet, he adopted his principles and practice so far as to take up arms for the conviction of skeptics. At the head of twenty thousand men he advanced into Persia, breathing persecution and religious intolerance, attacked the city of Herbetek, and, putting the inhabitants to the sword, plundered and desecrated the sepulchre of Ali, the grandson of the Prophet, a favorite place of pilgrimage among the Persians. In the beginning of the present century, the son of Abdel was murdered by a citizen of Herbetek, to avenge the indignity done to the holy tomb ; and Schdvod, his successor, in retaliation, directed his arms against Bassorah and Irak. He defeated the Scherif of Mecca, and with forty thousand men entered the holy city, broke open the tomb of the Prophet, stripped it of its long-venerated treasures, melted the golden vessels, chandeliers, and vases, and, having exposed the whole to public sale, distributed the money among his soldiers. This daring act of sacrilege roused the indignation of every true believer, and Mohammad Ali was commanded by the Sultan to punish the daring heretic and deliver the holy city.

The first campaign in Arabia under Toosoon Pasha was crowned with success. He took the city of Medina, the keys of which were forwarded by his father to Constantinople; but afterward the Egyptian army sustained severe reverses, and it needed the presence of Mohammad Ali himself to restore the confidence of his soldiers. During the progress of this war he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and paid his devotions at the tomb of the Prophet. While engaged in this holy work he stopped at Jiddeh, where, in a fit of passion, with his own hands, he pulled out the eyes of Hoseyn Ághá, the agent of the East India Company ; besides which, in return for the kindness and hospitality with which he was received by the Scherif Ghaleb, he seized his host and sent him a prisoner to Cairo, and plundered the palace of immense treasures. About this time he suffered a severe blow in the death of his son Toosoon, as was supposed, by poison.

Ibrahim Pasha, who was sent to replace him, literally fulfilled



his father's oath to destroy the city of the Wahnábees, so that not one stone of it should be left upon another. The inhabitants who escaped the sword were driven into the desert, and Ibrahim is remembered at this day as the scourge of Arabia and the curse of Duayeh. Mohammad Ali well knew that a throne gained by treachery and blood could only be secured by physical force. In his several engagements with Europeans he had seen enough to convince him of the importance of discipline and military training, and very early in the administration of his government he attempted to organize a corps on the system of European tactics. For this purpose he secured the services of several Frenchmen, who had remained in Egypt after the departure of Napoleon.

From the very first the attempt was vehemently opposed by the native troops, and particularly the free spirit of his wild Albanians could ill brook the trammels of warlike science. The subaltern officers were assassinated in the streets, and the superiors were insulted on parade; severe punishments were inflicted, and more severe measures taken by the Pasha, until murmurings and conspiracies broke out into open mutiny and revolt. On the 4th of August, 1815, all the troops in the neighborhood of Cairo marched against the Citadel, with the avowed purpose of putting Mohammad Ali to death.

Fortunately for him, he was at one of his palaces near the European quarter of the city; and it is remembered of him to this day by the Franks, that on the first breaking out of the disturbance he sent them five hundred muskets, with the necessary ammunition, to defend themselves in case the fury of the soldiers should turn against them. The whole city was in convulsion; the soldiers roamed through the streets like banditti, plundered the bazaars, and committed all kinds of excesses. Mohammad Ali remained all day in a terrible state of suspense, liable at any moment to be dragged forth to destruction, when he was extricated by Abdur Bey, a faithful Albanian, warmly attached to his person, who, gathering around him a band of about three hundred of his own countrymen, forced a passage to the Citadel and lodged him there in perfect security. This took place late in the evening of that day of confusion and terror, and, when it was discovered that the Pasha had been so long within their reach and had escaped, the fury of the soldiers knew no bounds; they broke out again into fresh excesses, pillaged the bazaars, and sacked the dwellings of the inhabitants. Before morning Mohammad Ali had proclaimed a general amnesty to all who

had taken part in the rebellion, and indemnification to all the citizens who had suffered by the pillage, and had promised to discontinue the odious system of European discipline. For a long time no attempt was made to renew it ; but the Pasha had not abandoned his plans. Knowing the indomitable nature of his Albanians, he resolved to operate upon the subdued spirit of the Fellahs of Egypt and the still more unresisting natives of Sennâr and Kurdufân. For this purpose he fitted out an expedition under his son Ismail, as well to reduce the upper provinces as to procure recruits for his new system.

The success of Ismail was complete in both. Thousands of captives were sent down to Aswân, where they were first vaccinated, and after their recovery were immediately subjected to all the rigor and restraint of European military discipline. It was remarked of them, particularly the Nubians, that they neither rebelled, nor murmured, nor complained ; but a deep and settled melancholy seemed to take possession of them, and, without any visible bodily malady, they pined away and died by thousands. Out of twenty thousand sent down to Aswân, not more than three thousand remained alive at the end of two years. Medical men ascribed this dreadful mortality to the operation of moral rather than physical causes ; torn from their families and homes, many of them seemed to consider life a burden, and almost literally laid themselves down and died.

Even this could not shake the determination of the Pasha. He placed five hundred tried and faithful Mamelukes under the command of Colonel Sèves, formerly aide to Marshal Ney, to be trained as officers, and at the same time impressed thirty thousand Arab Fellahs, who were sent under a strong military guard into Upper Egypt. The ultimate success of Mohammad Ali is to be attributed mainly to the valuable services and conduct of Colonel Sèves.

Several times the Mamelukes became discontented and threatened to break out into rebellion, but he silenced them and gained the respect of this wild soldiery by offering to meet with his saber, single-handed, all who dared dispute his authority. On one occasion, in firing, a ball was heard to whistle close by his ear ; without the slightest emotion he ordered them to reload their pieces. "You are very bad marksmen," he exclaimed. "Make ready ; fire !" They fired, but no ball was heard. His determined courage disarmed their animosity, and acquired for him a personal admiration which enabled him to carry through the grand scheme of the Pasha.

Colonel Sèves is now Governor of Acre, under the title of Suleymán Pasha ; he has been constantly with the army in peace and in war, and at Konieh his charge of cavalry decided the battle against the Grand Vizier. He is a man of talents and acquirements, of personal honor and integrity ; but we can not forget that he has assumed the turban and stands branded as a renegade to his religion. But the success of Mohammad Ali was clouded by another severe domestic affliction : Ismail Pasha, his favorite son, a young man of mild and amiable temper, died a miserable death while prosecuting the war in Upper Egypt.

In revenge for an accidental insult to a native chief, the building in which he slept was surrounded with a mass of combustible materials, and the house and every one within it were burned to ashes. Achmet el Defterdár, better known as Defterdár the Cruel, to avenge the murder of Ismail, butchered in cold blood twenty thousand of the inhabitants, men, women and children, and Ibrahim Pasha, returned successful from the Arabian war, pushed the Egyptian arms into districts which neither the Persians nor Romans had been able to penetrate.

But a new battle-field now presented itself to Mohammad Ali. Greece had risen from her long slumber ; her mountain warriors had determined to be free, and in an instant the whole of the Morea became a scene of violence and bloodshed unknown in the annals of modern war.

The Sultan, everywhere defeated, called upon Mohammad Ali for aid. It has been imputed to Mohammad Ali that the Greek Revolution was incited by him ; whether this be true or not, it is generally believed that he regarded it with a favorable eye, as it called the attention of the Sultan to that part of his empire, and kept him from looking too closely into the affairs of Egypt. He obeyed, however, the order of the Sultan, and directed Ibrahim Pasha to withdraw his troops from the desert of Dongola and Kurdufán to the more sanguinary fields of the Morea. The particulars of this war are matters of history. The part enacted by Mohammad Ali was in character. It was no part of his plan to bring it to an immediate close ; for, if the Egyptian and Turkish troops had coöperated with that view, they were strong enough numerically to form cordons across the whole country, and sweep every Greek into the sea. His plan was to protract the war until the Sultan's troops became discouraged and disheartened, that in the end the value of his own services might be more fully appreciated.

In another particular, too, his conduct was characteristic : with the first levy of men he sent his most turbulent Albanians, whom, under any circumstances, he was anxious to get rid of. These it is well known were exposed in every desperate encounter, so that they were soon all cut off. His second levy was composed again of Albanians, who were also exposed in every possible situation ; and, their reckless courage never allowing them to regard any danger, they too were cut off ; and, thus having rid himself of his most troublesome subjects, he sent a large reënforcement of his disciplined Egyptians, who turned the tide of war against unhappy Greece, and would have ended by again enslaving her, if the great Christian powers had not interposed and saved her. The piercing cry of distress that came from the struggling land to our distant ears was a cry to save her from the hands of Mohammad Ali.

It was he who was burning her villages, sacking her cities, and murdering her inhabitants, and who had sworn that he would not cease until the whole of the Morea became a frightful desert. According to the practice of the Porte, that which is wrested from her, and she can not get back, she confirms in the possession of the rebel, and Palestine and Syria now remain in the hands of Mohammad Ali as a reward for drawing his sword against his master. He still continues to pay the Sultan tribute, but for a long time his spirit has been chafing under the burden. "Why," he is constantly asking those around him, "why should I pay the Sultan tribute, when I can beat him any moment I please?"

Every time the tribute becomes due there is a question of war. Within the last few months he gave notice to the four great Christian Powers that control the affairs of the East, that he would no longer pay ; that he was determined to be free, or fight. He was repressed and kept back, but he now sits like a lion waiting for a spring, and at this day Mohammad Ali is the only man living to disturb the peace of the civilized world. His last war was that of open rebellion against the Sultan.

Seizing upon some trifling quarrel with the Pasha of Acre, he sent the now formidable Ibrahim to attack that city. The Sultan ordered him to withdraw his troops. He refused, and was declared an outlaw and rebel, and a price was set upon his head. He now threw off all show of vassalage, and Ibrahim Pasha, at the head of a large and well-disciplined army, marched into Syria, took Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo, beat the Sultan's troops in battle after battle, wrested from him province after province ; in midwin-

ter led his Egyptians across Mount Taurus, defeated the Grand Vizier with the flower of the Turkish army almost under the walls of Constantinople, and would have driven the Sultan from the home of the Mahmoods, but that the Russians, the old enemies of the Porte, came to his relief.

Such is a brief sketch of the life of Mohammad Ali, an orphan boy of Cavalla, a tax-collector, a tobacco merchant, a soldier of fortune, a Pasha, and a Viceroy, exercising a more absolute and despotic power than any potentate upon earth. His better qualities are such as ought to attract admiration ; but in his long life of stormy passion we do not once find anything noble in his impulses.

We might, perhaps, forget his cruelty and bloodshed if, like the heroic Saladin, he had sometimes shown that he felt the ties which bind brave men together ; we might even forget his cruelties, but we can not forget his long career of duplicity and treachery ; and I remember when I saw him, as I looked into his dark, rolling eye, and ran over rapidly the stormy scenes in the life of that white-bearded old man, I thought more of his innumerable acts of treachery than of the blood which he had shed.

In private life, however, Mohammad Ali is said to possess many excellent qualities. And, first of all, he never forgets his old friends. All who served him in early life were rewarded as soon as he was in a condition to do so ; they grew with his rising fortunes, and the few who remain sit round him now in offices suited to their skill and capacity, or as pensioners on his bounty. And he has never forgotten the little town of Cavalla. All his old friends there are provided for, and once a year regularly a vessel is sent loaded with provisions to be distributed among his poor relations. These relations have increased wonderfully as Mohammad Ali has advanced in fortune ; but, nevertheless, even now every vagabond who comes from Cavalla and claims to be a kinsman of the Pasha is sure to be well received in Egypt. He has never been known to shake off an early friend, even for subsequent ingratitude.

The attachment of his old comrades and followers, of those who have grown up under him, of the whole of his official and military household, is without bounds. His *kervashes* are excited when they mention his name, and would go through fire to serve him. The man who can feel himself, and can create in others, such strong attachments, must possess qualities that redeem a thousand faults. But perhaps the most interesting trait in the private character of this extraordinary man is the respect which, even at this day, he

pays to the memory of his first wife. Outside the walls of Cairo, in the unwatered sands, is a vast necropolis, with ranges of turbaned head-stones extending many miles into the desert. In this great city of the dead, near the tombs of the Mamelukes, with their domes and minarets and all their princely architecture crumbling to ruins, called the greatest structure of modern Egypt and almost rivaling in magnificence the burial-places of her ancient kings, is the tomb of the Pasha. It is a large stone building, with several domes strongly but coarsely made. The interior, still solemn and imposing, is divided into two chambers. In the first, in a conspicuous situation, covered with large and valuable cashmere shawls, is the tomb of his early wife. Once a year regularly the Pasha visits Cairo; and though nearly a generation has rolled by, and the fervor of youthful love is gone, and his head has become white, and his favorite children are removed by death, even now, every day and alone he mourns and prays at her tomb.

The Pasha is simple and unostentatious in his habits. He rises at about three o'clock in the morning, and is in the audience-hall, ready for business, before sunrise. An hour after, he visits the fleet and arsenals in his barge, or the factories, barracks, etc., on horseback. At nine or ten he retires to the harem, where he breakfasts and sleeps. At three he receives, in the male apartments of the harem, his confidential ministers and secretaries, and has read to him the daily reports and journals from every part of his extended dominions.

Formerly he always dined in public, and sometimes does so now, but in general he dines in the harem about an hour before sunset. At sunset he goes to the audience-chamber, where he attends to business, receives consuls, merchants, and travelers, and engages in general conversation till eleven o'clock, when he retires to the harem, and it is said has translations of books and journals read to him, by eunuchs and women trained for the purpose, till a late hour. Some of the ladies of Alexandria are in the habit of visiting the ladies of his harem, and they report that the sternness of his nature, his love of war and strong excitement, render him comparatively indifferent to all the beauties who grace the seraglio of an Eastern despot. He is kind, playful with his children and grandchildren, and frequently has five or six of them playing on the divan in the audience-chamber. He takes a great interest in the private affairs of his friends and followers, and even of the European residents, and condoles with them upon any misfortunes. He enjoys all the gossip and scandal circu-

lating among the Europeans, and is looked upon by them with the kindest feelings.

At forty-five Mohammad Ali learned to read and write, and he is no great proficient in book-learning now ; but he has acquired an astonishing degree of knowledge in the natural way, by seeing and hearing. He is a man of extraordinary sagacity ; knows thoroughly all the passions that operate upon human conduct ; and upon a first interview his eagle eye reads the very hearts of most who approach him ; and then follows a course of conduct such as would not disgrace the graduate of a European college of diplomacy. If he has to deal with a bold, daring fellow, he is mild and conciliatory ; if with a craven, he is threatening and terrible ; the avaricious he bribes ; and a high-minded, unsuspecting man he wins by the most delicate and insidious attentions. Upon one occasion, wishing to impress a foreign consul with the idea of his determination and energy, he contrived to introduce an anecdote of his younger days, when on a new distribution of tents, after the battle with the French at Heliopolis, there was a very handsome green one which all the officers wanted. "And," said the Pasha, "I said to myself, 'I should like to have that tent and I will have it.' The commissary, distracted by their quarrels, and at the same time knowing that his decision would not be submitted to, cried out, 'The boy Ali shall have it.' And," said the Pasha, rising in his seat and his eyes flashing, "the boy Ali *had* the tent ; and from that time what the boy Ali has resolved to have, he has had."

But, be the character of Mohammad Ali what it may, he has proved himself an extraordinary man ; and it has been well said that he has wrought a greater change in Egypt than has been effected by revolution or conquest since the days of Alexander the Great. And, first, he has made Egypt as safe for the traveler as England or America. The streets of Alexandria and Cairo are as secure as those of London or New York, and a man may stroll on the banks of the Nile as safely as by the Thames or the Hudson. When he came to the throne the whole country was torn and distracted by internal wars ; the banks of the Nile, even in the neighborhood of Cairo, were infested by robbers and banditti—Albanians, Mamelukes, Bedouins, and hostile tribes of Arabs—all of whom were constantly at war with each other. Even the pyramids, only twelve miles from Cairo, were inaccessible. In 1810 a French traveler was obliged to have an escort of five hundred horsemen to enable him to visit them. Now, not only the way to the pyra-

mids, but the whole valley of the Nile to the Upper Cataracts, and the whole of the Holy Land, Damascus, "the smile of the Prophet," and Palmyra in the desert, are as safe as any part of Europe. Indeed, perhaps they are more so. Certainly the traveler there is treated with more respect. The Pasha is anxious to open his country to strangers and travelers ; he invites them there, and gives them a firman which commands every officer in his government, at the peril of his head, to receive and treat the bearer with all consideration and respect. In no country has the Frank so many privileges ; and I have seen the Arabs on the Nile beaten by a traveler in such a way as in Italy would have procured him a stiletto. And perhaps it is but justice to the Pasha to say that, in the administration of his internal affairs, though he does not regard human life, he does not kill without cause. He has subdued the disaffected and turbulent, and reduced the whole of his dominions to a state of tranquillity and security, as much by the certainty as by the sanguinary nature of his punishments. An instance of this certainty was related to me by one resident in Cairo at the time. In 1833 the Colonel of one of his regiments in Mecca had rendered himself odious to the soldiers, and while on parade, firing with blank cartridges, the officer was shot. No notice was taken of it at the time, and it was thought that the thing was all forgotten.

Two years afterward, in the regular course of exchanges, the battalion returned to Cairo, marched into the Citadel and piled arms. A court-martial was immediately called, and the battalion found guilty of the murder. As the individual could not be discovered, the battalion was decimated, and a hundred and thirty-four were marched outside the gate in separate squads, and shot by their own comrades. My informant happened to be riding outside the walls, and, attracted by the roll of musketry, saw the execution of the luckless soldiers, some sitting, some standing, and some on their knees, according to the humor of the officers.

Circumstances afterward brought my informant to this country, and, on his return in July last, he was lighted into the harbor of Alexandria by the blaze of one of the Pasha's frigates, which illuminated the dark surface of the waters many miles into the ocean. This was on Sunday night. It was supposed that the frigate was set on fire, and on Monday the whole of the officers and crew, one hundred and fifty in number, were arrested. On Tuesday they were put on their trial for their lives. The examination continued Wednesday and Thursday, on Friday sentence was pronounced, on



Saturday the Pasha confirmed it, and on Sunday at twelve o'clock twenty-seven officers were degraded and sent to the galleys for life, and nine sentries were shot. "If innocent," says this summary dispenser of justice, "Mohammad has received them into paradise ; if guilty, they deserved the death ; and, either way, it is a warning to all incendiaries."

Constantly apprehensive of an attack from the Sultan, he is draining the resources of his country to support his army and navy ; and throughout the whole of his government all that the Pasha has done for Egypt he has done for himself. He has advanced himself, and he has dragged Egypt after him. He has used it as an estate for life, and the people as his slaves. He has increased the revenues by accumulating in his own hands what was before shared by the Mamelukes and officers of the Sultan, and by increasing the labor of his subjects. Their sweat brings gold into his treasury. He controls their labor, takes the products into his own granaries, at his own price, and, to a great extent, he is the only proprietor, manufacturer, and merchant in Egypt. He is familiar with the modern history of most of the nations of Europe, with their politics, and with the names of their leading ministers and statesmen ; knows particularly their state of advancement in the useful arts, and has very large commercial relations, particularly with England and France. Nor is he ignorant of the existence of such a country as our own.

The land over which Mohammad Ali reigns is a land favored by Heaven. In the ninth century the Caliph Omar wrote from his throne in Bagdad to Amrou, his lieutenant in Egypt :

"O Amrou, son of De el Aa's, I desire of thee, upon the receipt of this letter, that thou makest me a picture of Egypt so exact and lively that I can imagine myself to see with my own eyes that beautiful country. Greeting !"

The answer of Amrou is true at this day :

"O Prince of the Faithful, paint to thyself a dry desert, and a magnificent country between two mountains, of which the one has the form of a hill of sand, and the other the back of a camel. Behold Egypt ! All its productions and all its riches come from a blessed river, which flows with majesty through the middle of it. The moment of the increase and the retiring of its waters is as regular as the course of the sun and moon ; there is a fixed time in the year when all the sources of the universe come to pay to that king of rivers the tribute which Providence has subjected them to-

ward it. Then the waters increase, overflow its banks, and cover the whole face of Egypt, to deposit there a productive sediment.

"There is no more any communication from one village to another but by light boats as numerous as the leaves of the palm-tree.

"When at length the moment arrives that the waters cease to be necessary to the fertility of the soil, that docile river returns within the boundaries that destiny has prescribed for it, to allow to be gathered up the treasure that it has concealed in the bosom of the earth.

"A people protected by Heaven, and which, like the bee, seems destined to work only for others, without profiting itself by the price of its labors, opens lightly the bowels of the earth, and there deposes the seed, of which it attends the fruitfulness from the kindness of that Being who makes grow and ripen the harvest. The germ develops, the blade rises, the ear forms by the aid of a dew which supplies the place of rain, and which maintains the nourishing moisture with which the soil is imbued. To the most abundant harvest succeeds all at once sterility. It is thus, O Prince of the Faithful ! that Egypt presents by turns the image of a powdered desert, of a liquid and silvery plain, of a black and muddy marsh, of a green and waving prairie, of a flower-garden adorned with various flowers, and of a field that has just been plowed, with a harvest turning yellow. Blessed be the Creator of so many marvels ! "

For a long time Egypt, in the eyes of the civilized world, existed only in the recollections of the past. It was her great antiquity, the darkness that overhung her early history, the recollection of her Pharaohs and her Ptolemies, and the later glory of her caliphs, that filled the mind of the traveler as he wandered through her unpeopled deserts and among her ruined temples. But old things are passing away, and all things are becoming new. For a little while yet we may cling to the illusions connected with the past ; but the mystery is fast dissolving, the darkness is passing away, and Greece and Rome and Egypt herself henceforward claim our attention as living and existing things. Already they have lost much of the deep and absorbing interest with which men turned to them only a generation since ; they are no longer robed in mystery.